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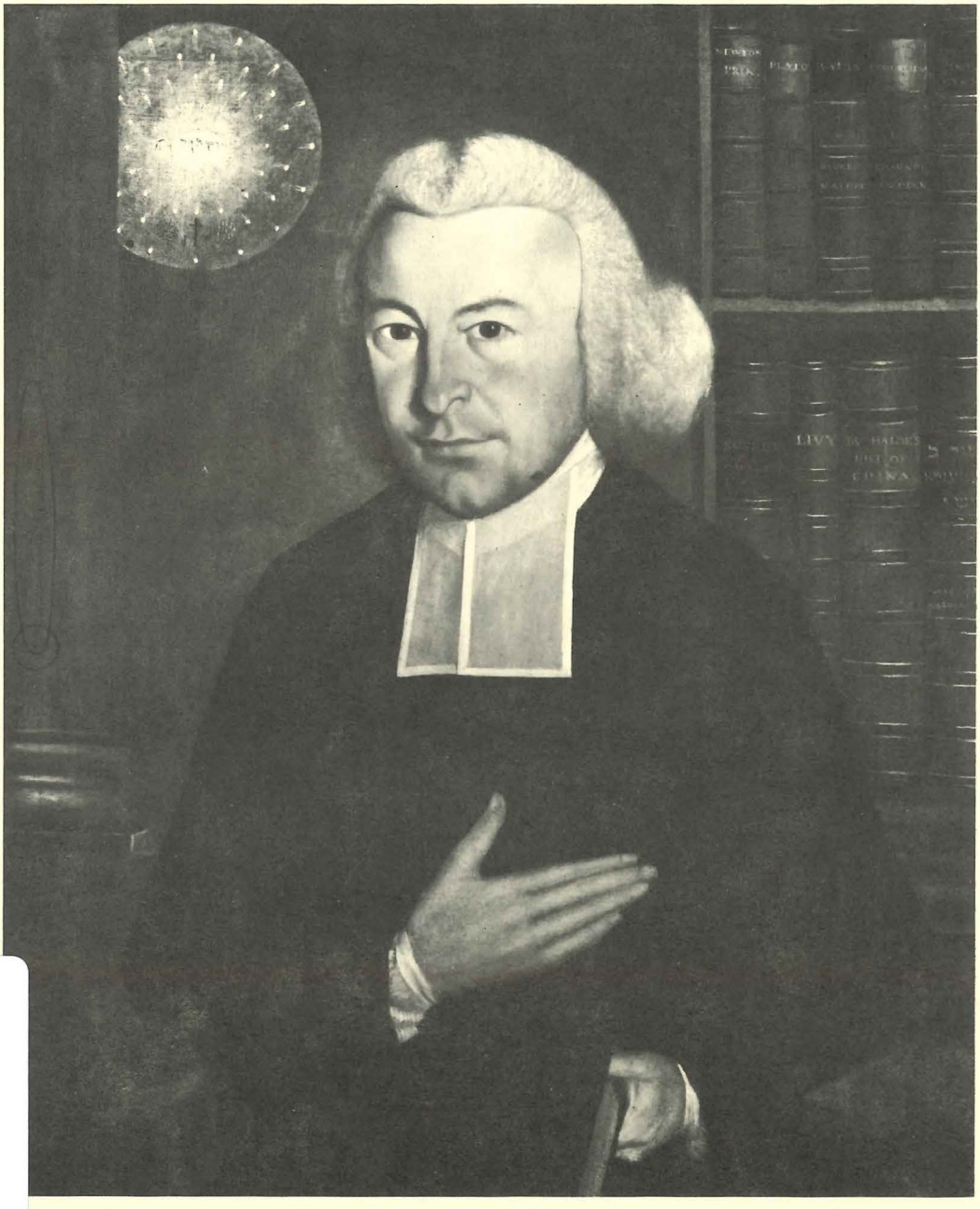
of The New Haven Colony Historical Society



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THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY was founded in 1862 by a representative group of New Haven citizens. As stated in the Constitution adopted by the Society, revised in 1965:

"The object of the Society shall be the collection, preservation and publication of historical and genealogical matter relating to the early settlement and subsequent history, especially of New Haven and its vicinity, and incidentally of other portions of the United States."

The museum and library of the Society are open to the public. There is a fee of $1 to non-members for use of the library; the museum is open free of charge. In addition to the Whitney Avenue building, the Society owns the Pardee-Morris House at 325 Lighthouse Road, Morris Cove, New Haven. Built originally in 1685, it was burned during the British invasion in 1779. Rebuilt at once, it incorporates surviving portions of the older structure. The Pardee-Morris House is now restored and furnished appropriately and is open to the public during the summer months.

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Cover: One of Ezra Stiles's many interests was epitaphs. Cora Lutz discusses some of the highlights of his collection (page 3).

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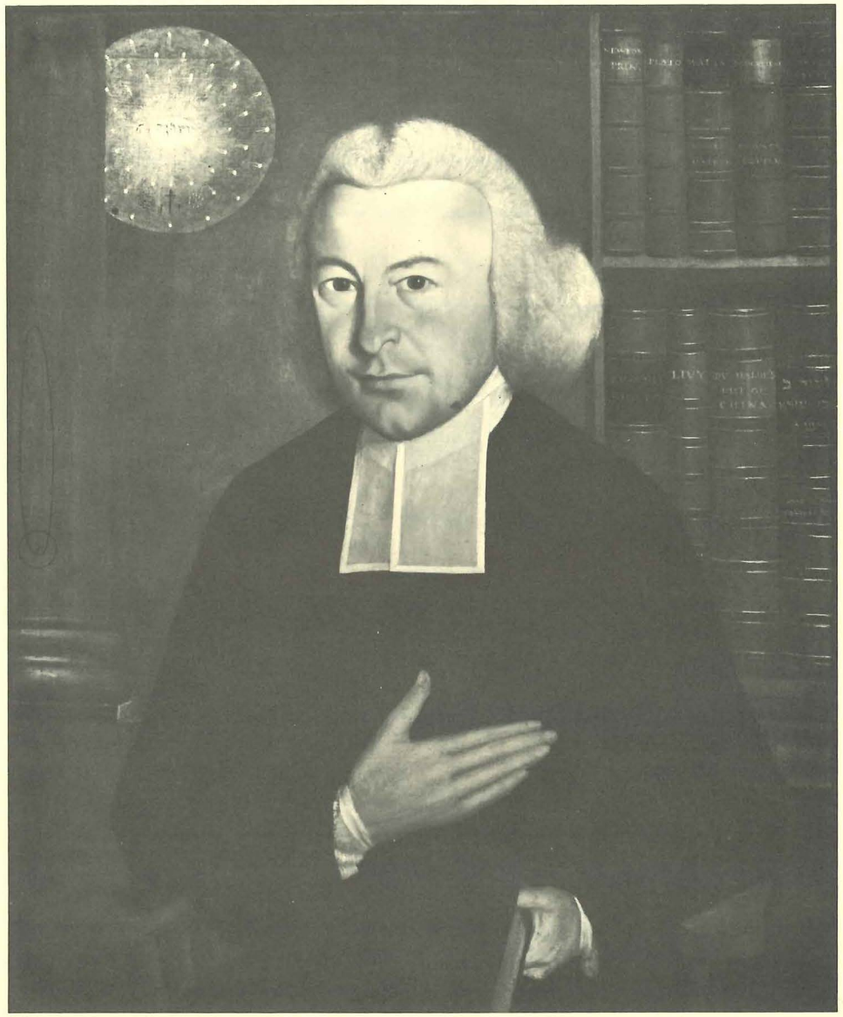


This oil portrait of Ezra Stiles was painted by Samuel King (1749-1819) in 1771, when Stiles was forty-four years old. (Yale University Art Gallery, bequest of Dr. Charles Jenkins Foote)

Ezra Stiles, Collector of Epitaphs

by Cora E. Lutz

The Body of B. Franklin
Printer
Like the Cover of an old Book
Its Contents torn out
And stript of its Lettering and Gilding
Lies here food for Worms
But the Work shall not be lost
It will (as he believed) appear once more
In a new and more beautiful Edition
Corrected and emended
By the Author.

This epitaph, which Benjamin Franklin composed for himself when he was a young printer, has charmed the literate world for over 200 years. In his own day, his friends frequently asked him for a copy of the epitaph, and he apparently wrote a version from memory. This would explain the variants in the three extant copies, one of which is preserved among the Franklin Papers at Yale. In his *Diary* for September 27, 1779 (2.375), Ezra Stiles records the version given above. He says that during a visit to his war-devastated parish in Newport his friend, Mrs. Jane Macon(Mecon), sister of Dr. Franklin, showed him the epitaph, written in Franklin's own hand.[1] At the time, happily, Stiles's good friend had eleven more years to live!

Like many of his contemporaries, Stiles was fascinated by gravestone inscriptions, so in the course of his many journeys he took pains to search for memorials to the men who made contributions to their times. Naturally the epitaphs he records reflect his own diverse interests in archeology and history; they honor men who were prominent in the contemporary political and social world, men associated with Yale College, and members of his own family. Of the many such inscriptions that Stiles copied in his *Diary* or in his *Itineraries* only the most significant are considered here—

with the addition of several which have an unusual, whimsical turn.

All of his life Stiles was interested in the American Indians. He tried to learn of their origin, their languages, their customs, and to discover any writings they might have left. He was interested in discoveries of pictographs attributed to them in the New England colonies and in New York, and though he examined all of these, he found nothing approaching a tombstone inscription. But in his attempt to preserve what little was left of the disappearing remains of Indian culture, in 1790 he explored what he called the Indian Royal Burying Ground located a mile south of Norwich, Connecticut. There he found and copied the epitaphs of four descendants of Uncas, the great Sachem of the Mohegans of a century earlier.[2] The most significant of these inscriptions is the one which memorializes Samuel Uncas, and is dated 1741:

Here lies SAM UNCAS the second and beloved Son of his
Father John Uncas who was the Grandson of UNCAS GRAND SACHEM.—
He died in 1741, in the 28th Year of his age.

The footstone epitaph gives further details.

Samuel Uncas
For Beauty Wit or sterling Sence
For Temper mild for Eloquence
For Courage Bold, For things waureegan[3]
He was the Glory of Mohegan
Whose Death has caused great lemantation
Both in ye English and the Indian Nation.

As Stiles continued to search for relics and memorials of the Indians, he also sought zealously for monuments to the early English settlers. In Providence, for over fifteen years, he looked for a tombstone at the grave of Roger Williams (1604-84), founder of the colony of Rhode Island, but finally had to report that in 1785, no stone of any kind marked the grave (*Diary* 3.191), although ten or twelve years earlier, a committee consisting of the governor and the most prominent citizens had been commissioned by the town of Providence to have a suitable memorial erected to Williams. In New Haven, as he sought for gravestones of the three judges of King Charles I who had found refuge there after the Restoration, Stiles located only one memorial, that of Col. John Dixwell, a rough stone marked "J.D. Esq., deceased March the 18th, in the 82nd year of his age, 1688 or 9." This was in the old burial ground on the New Haven Green adjacent to Yale College. In 1776 Stiles was living in Newport. At the time, the town was being ravaged by the British, and Stiles recorded the suppositious epitaph of another of the judges, John Bradshaw, president of the High Court of Justice that tried King Charles.[4] Unfortunately he did not give his source, but said merely (*Diary* 1.649): "The following Inscription was made out three years ago on the Canon near which the ashes of President Bradshaw

were lodged on the top of a high hill near *Martha Bray* in Jamaica, to avoid the Rage against the Regicides exhibited at the Restoration." He then gave the entire inscription (*Diary* 1.649), in which after the usual appeal to the passerby, there follows the famous admonition:

. . . never—never forget
THAT REBELLION TO TYRANNY
IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD.

Stiles also preserved copies of epitaphs of several persons prominent in the later political history of the colonies. In 1784, for instance, in a cemetery in Milford, Connecticut, he copied the gravestone inscriptions (*Diary* 3.133) of two Connecticut governors, Robert Treat and Jonathan Law. Governor Treat, who died in 1710, had a simple epitaph, in English, that gives only the information that he served faithfully as Governor of the Colony for thirty years. The other stone, also on a table tomb, dated 1750, has an inscription in Latin and although short, it testifies also to the Governor's proficiency in literature, his fine character, and his skill in administering the affairs of state. Stiles was particularly interested in this monument, for he had delivered the funeral oration on the occasion of the death of Governor Law (*Diary* 2.524).[5]

Stiles furnished the epitaphs from tombstones of a number of notable clergymen buried in cemeteries throughout Connecticut. One of the most noteworthy is that of the Reverend Samuel Lockwood, first pastor of the Church of Christ in Andover. Stiles mentioned in his *Diary* for May 1793 (3.494) that he rode to Andover to see Mrs. Lockwood and to visit the grave of her husband to copy the inscription. Lockwood (1721-91) received his degree from Yale in 1745 and later became a member of the Yale Corporation. His epitaph (*Itineraries* 417-18) records that he was "a worthy Fellow [of Yale College] and a generous Benefactor to the public library and Philosophical Apparatus," as well as noting his firm advocacy of the doctrine of Grace and his evangelical piety in religion, which he preached "with Ability Zeal and Faithfulness for over forty-three years."[6]

On August 5, 1772, in his *Diary* (1.259), Stiles quoted from a Boston newspaper the information that in Boston a tombstone had been cut with a long inscription to the memory of another clergyman, the Reverend Robert Sandeman (1718-71). The stone would be sent to Danbury, Connecticut to mark the grave of the preacher. It is a tribute to the charity of Stiles that he quoted the laudatory inscription to a man who formed an unorthodox sect and threatened many of the established churches, including Stiles's, by his persuasive speech.

Just as unexpected, but for quite different reasons, is Stiles's quotation of the epitaph of another minister, the Reverend Myles Cooper, LL.D., formerly President of King's College, later Columbia. In 1779 (*Diary* 2.339), in a discussion of the presidents of American colleges, Stiles said that he had seen Dr. Cooper, but had learned his character from others and from his "whip-syllabub productions." Stiles remarked that "He is a pretty neat classical scholar, and of a good taste for belles

Lettres, and the general novel and humorous Tristram Shandy Reading of the polite World." He added that Cooper had a rather mediocre knowledge of oriental languages and the sciences and mathematics, but "a strong and high taste for Amusements and Parties of Pleasure. He was an Oxonian and came over full of Contempt for American Literature." He was a strong advocate for the Church of England and the American Episcopate. "He has employed much of his Time writing in favour of the Court and Parliament and against us. He fled to the Enemy—left New York—and is now seeking his Bread in England. Hopefully never to return to America." Despite this unflattering report, upon hearing the news of Cooper's death in Edinburgh in 1785, Stiles reported (*Diary* 3.174): "The Epitaph composed by himself shows him the jovial and jocund Priest." He then gave the epitaph in full:

> Here lies a Priest of English Blood,
> Who living liked whate'er was good;
> Good company, good wine, good name,
> Yet never hunted after fame;
> But as the first he still preferred,
> So here he chose to be interred;
> And unobserved from crowds withdrew;
> To rest among a chosen few,
> In humble Hopes the Sovereign Love
> Will raise him to the bless'd above.

Stiles reported the epitaphs of at least two medical doctors. The first (*Itineraries* 395) is on a tombstone in a cemetery in Middletown, erected to the memory of Dr. John Osborn, "who was born on Cape Cod—educated at Harvard College—a learned man—a Deist." The inscription reads:

> Here is intered
> The Remains of
> Dr. John Osborn.
> Ask nothing further Traveller
> Nor nothing shorter.
> Died 31st May 1753
> Aet. 40.
> Life how short
> Eternity how long.

In his *Diary* for November 13, 1773 (1.420) Stiles recorded: "Received the Tidings of the Death of our honored Father Colonel John Hubbard of New Haven 30th October last, aet. 70." This was Stiles's father-in-law, a doctor and civil servant in New Haven. Stiles entered a brief biography including his posts in Hartford and in New Haven, then the epitaph, which he had earlier recorded in his *Itineraries* (381):

> Col. John Hubbard, Esq. for many years the first in civil Authority and in the management of public Affairs in the Town of New Haven, Judge of Probates for the District, and an assistant Judge in the Court of Common Pleas, departed this Life October 30th 1773, Aet. 70.
>
> His highest praise to heaven alone,
> A christian Heart was fully known,
> Genius & Taste, and moral Worth,
> Distinguished him while here on Earth,
> Superior Powers with manly Zeal
> Exerted for the public Weal,
> In every Station he sustain'd,
> Honoured the Trust his Merit gain'd.
>
> Copied from the Tombstone, Oct. 17, 1776.

As a preface to some of Colonel Hubbard's letters to his son-in-law, Stiles furnished a few details concerning his life: "Born in Jamaica, Long Island, in 1703. He settled in New Haven as a practicing physician, being also Colonel of the militia, and Judge of the Probate Court, and died in 1773. He received the honorary degree of M.A. at Yale in 1730, and was much addicted to poetical composition. Colonel Hubbard's daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Dr. Stiles on February 10, 1757." One of the letters preserved by Stiles contains a poem by his beloved father-in-law (*Itineraries* 506).[7]

Among the epitaphs of men outside the professional sphere, two memorials seem unusual, one to a farmer and one to a merchant. Patridge Thatcher of New Milford is remembered in the histories of his town as a prosperous farmer and owner of saw mills, but more especially because he freed his slaves. In his *Diary* for May 22, 1791 (3.418), Stiles reported simply: "Epitaph of Patridge Thatcher Esq. of New Milford for himself. Ob. 1786 or 1787. A great admirer of Shakespear."

> Rest here my Body, till th'Archangels Voice,
> More sonorous far than ninefold Thunder,
> Awakes the sleeping dead; then shalt thou rise
> To thy just Sphere; And be thy House immortal.

One of the most remarkable contemporary epitaphs cited by Stiles is that of Mr. Aaron Lopez, a wealthy merchant of Newport, who was drowned not far from Providence in 1782. Stiles said of him (*Diary* 3.24):

> On 28th of May died that amiable, benevolent most hospitable & very respectable Gentleman Mr. Aaron Lopez, Merchant, who retiring from Newport Rhode Island in these times resided from 1775 to his Death at

Leicester, in Massachusetts. He was a Jew by Nation, came from Spain or Portugal about 1754 & settled at Rhode Island. He was a Merchant of the first Eminence; for Honor and Extent of Commerce probably surpassed by no Merchant in America. He did Business with the greatest Ease and Clearness—always carried about with him a Sweetness of Behaviour, a calm Urbanity an agreeable & unaffected Politeness of manners. Without a single Enemy & the most universally beloved by an extensive Acquaintance of any man I ever knew. His Beneficence to his Family Connections to his Nation & to all the World is almost without a Parallel. He was my intimate friend and Acquaintance.

Lopez was buried in the Jewish Cemetery in Newport, and a Hebrew inscription was placed on his tombstone.[8] A year later, when Stiles visited Newport, he was asked to compose an English inscription for the stone. Stiles's memorial to his friend is the following:

In memory of Mr. Aaron Lopez,
Who was drawn from this transitory existence
to eternal rest, the 14th of Sevan A.M. 5542,
corresponding to May 28th 1782
Aetate 51.

Eight lines follow bearing testimony to his hospitality, liberality, and benevolence and integrity. They conclude:

Thus he lived and died much regretted,
esteemed and loved by all.

There follows the Hebrew verse "The memory of the just is blessed."

Although Ezra Stiles had always been keenly interested in the history of Yale, during his presidency he felt especially eager to know as much of it as possible. So in his *Diary* for December 15, 1785 (3.202-3), he reproduced the epitaph of Elihu Yale, which had been copied by Silas Deane sometime during the preceding summer and sent to Stiles by Joshua Chandler from London. The text (which seems to have been written down from memory because it is inaccurate in places) is given by Deane as follows:

"In a Church Yard in Wrexham, the Capital of Denbighshire in North Wales I met with a monument on which was the following inscription. It said:

E-lh - Yale

deceased June 22d, 1721.

Born in America, in Europe bred,
In Afric travelled & in Asia wed
long did he live & thrive in London dead
Much good some ill he did, so hope alls even,
And that his soul through mercy's gone to Heav'n,
You who survive & read this tale take care
For this most certain exit to prepare
When all the Actions of the good & just
Smell sweet & ripen in the silent Dust.

Deane's letter, dated August 1, 1785, continues:

"The Christian name was partly obliterated the stone being of a loose and tender quality & it did not appear that either the date of his Birth or that of his Age had been inscribed. On enquiring I found that the Yale family was an Ancient & respectable one in that part of Wales. But leaving the town the next day after meeting with the Epitaph I had no opportunity of making any enquiries respecting the History of the Man to whose memory the monument had been erected. The Gentleman at whose House I lodged told me that he had heard that he had been a very extensive Traveller, & that he brought with him a wife from the East Indies to England & shewed me a House in which they had lived near to the city of Wrexham. I presume that Mr. Yale must have been the founder of Yale College."

Stiles tried to recover material relevant to the career of the Reverend Abraham Pierson, first Rector of the Collegiate School of Connecticut, which was later to become Yale College. After he was elected Rector in 1701, he conducted the school in his own house, where the few students also lived. This arrangement continued for the first five years until his death in 1706/7, when the students were removed to Saybrook. On September 1, 1779, Stiles visited the remains of the old Pierson house in Killingworth (that part of town is now in Clinton), not far from the meetinghouse and the old burying ground. There he copied the epitaph of Rector Pierson:

Here lieth the
Body of ye Reverend
Mr. Abraham Pierson
The first Rector
of ye College
in Connecticut
who deceased
March ye 5th 1706/7
Aged 61 years.

After Pierson's death, the Reverend Samuel Andrew, minister of the Church of Christ in Milford, served as the second Rector *pro tem* until 1719. He conducted the classes in Saybrook, except for the first senior class, which he taught at Milford. Andrew was one of the original group of ten ministers who met in Branford and decided upon the establishment of the school. He gave his share of books for that purpose. Stiles was particularly interested in the Reverend Andrew because Andrew had assisted at the ordination of Isaac Stiles, Ezra's father, in 1737 (*Diary* 1.127). On a visit to Milford in 1784, Stiles copied the inscription from Andrew's table tomb (*Diary* 3.133):

> Here lyes ye Body of ye Reverend & Learned Mr. Samuel Andrew Pastor of the Church of Christ in this place for over 50 years *Fellow of Harvard College* and more lately *Rector of Yale College* a singular ornament and Blessing in every Capacity and Relation of exemplary Holiness unwearied Labors, Modest Courteous and Benevolent; never fond of the World, earnestly pursuing and recommending a Better, greatly esteemed in Life and lamented at Death, which was June 23th 1737/8, lacking five days to compleat 82 years of Life.

Stiles recorded several epitaphs of men associated with the college during his tenure. One significant inscription was that of the Reverend Samuel Wales (1747-94). A Yale man, a close and highly esteemed friend of Stiles, who had been appointed by Stiles as Professor of Divinity and Chaplain of the college, he had served with distinction and was esteemed for his remarkable learning and for his eloquence. Unfortunately, his last years were made most difficult for him and for Yale when he developed epilepsy, and his death came as a release from increasing mental and physical agony.[9] His lengthy epitaph, which may have been composed by Stiles, is headed by the Hebrew invocation "May the memory of the good man be blessed." There follows an account of Wales's career in the ministry and at Yale, then an estimate of his intellectual and moral endowment (*Diary* 3.534):

Eminent
For superior Abilities, strong mental Powers,
Perspicuity & Solemnity
In Pulpit Eloquence;
For clear and just Views in Theology,
And a most venerable Piety.

In his *Diary* for June 19, 1788, Stiles reported the death of one of his students, a senior named Eli Kelsey, at whose funeral one of his classmates, Daniel Lewis, delivered the oration. Stiles attended, but he was ill with a violent cold. Although he did not record it, he wrote an epitaph for the young man which is still clearly legible on his tombstone in a cemetery in Spruce Corner, Madison, Connecticut. After recording the time of his death, it reads:

A Vigorous Application
To the Academical Studies
Early finished a Life
Devoted to Learning & Religion
His Benevolence and Integrity
and his exemplary Piety
Endeared him to his Friends
To the University and to the Church of God
and enabled him to die in so heavenly a manner
As to recommend Religion to all and make
everyone to have wished to have died in his stead.[10]

Ezra Stiles had an unusually strong sense of family ties and family history, a fact that impresses itself upon every reader of his *Diary*. Although his maternal grandfather, the Reverend Edward Taylor, who wrote "the best poetry written in colonial America,"[11] and was minister of the Church of Christ in Westfield, Massachusetts, died when Ezra was only two years old, as a young man Stiles often visited the old family home and collected his grandfather's papers and manuscripts.[14] In 1789, Stiles again visited Westfield and copied his grandfather's epitaph from the stone in Westfield Burying Place. It reads:

> Here Rests ye Body of ye Reverend Mr. Edward Taylor ye Aged Venerable Learned & Pious Pastor of ye Church of Christ in this Town who after He had served God and his Generation Faithfully for many Years fell asleep June 24th 1729 in ye 87th year of his Age.
>
> (*Itineraries* 403-4)

Stiles himself wrote epitaphs for two members of his immediate family, his father and his son. In the old burying ground on the Green at North Haven the grave of the Reverend Isaac Stiles, father of Ezra, is located not far from the Congregational Church which he served as pastor for thirty-six years. Ezra reported in his *Itineraries* for October 25, 1761 (pp. 153-54) the text of the epitaph that he composed and which he requested his mother to have engraved upon the tombstone, but he said that the engraved text differs somewhat from his original. As it happens, Abiel Holmes, Stiles's son-in-law, in his biography of Stiles, quoted the actual inscription on the table tomb.[15] It is still in good condition, and the inscription on the brownstone slab is almost entirely legible. Besides the dates of his birth and death (1707-1761), the epitaph records his liberal education at Yale, where he received academic honors, and his long pastorate in North Haven. This is followed by an enumeration of his talents and traits of character.

Although Ezra Stiles had respect for his father's achievements in the ministry, he had never been close to him, as their temperaments were not compatible. The situation in Ezra's own family was entirely different from what he had experienced in

his boyhood home, for Ezra was very loving and supportive of his children. Numerous entries in his *Diary* record facts and incidents in the lives of the children. The first child, Ezra, Jr., followed his father in going to Yale. The dislocations caused by the war made it expedient for him to take his last year at Harvard. Then he studied law, and immediately after receiving his degree he began to practice law in Vermont, where he soon became engaged in state politics. He married and had one child. At the beginning of a promising career, he became ill and went to North Carolina in search of a cure, but he died there in 1784. His father recorded the sad event in his *Diary* for September 30, 1784 (3.130): "This Afternoon I received Intelligence of the Death of my Son Ezra Stiles Aet. 26, who died August 22, after five days Sickness about ten miles distant from Edenton, North Carolina or in Chowan County. The Good Lord sanctify this Bereavement." Eight years later, on July 3, 1792 (3.466-67), Stiles recorded the sequel.

> Captain Nathan Penfield this Day brought me a Packet from Mr. John Mare of Edenton, North Carolina, dated May 10, 1792, with my Son Ezra's Diploma 1778, and a paper of my Son's known Hand Writing. He died and was buried at Mr. Rogers August 22, 1784. I sent a Stone last year to be deposited over his grave. Mr. Mare had his Corps taken up and removed near eight years after, and deposited April 2 1792 in St. Paul's Parish Church Yard in Edenton when the Tombstone I sent was laid over the Grave there, with this Inscription.

The full Latin inscription is still legible on the gravestone in St. Paul's churchyard. It summarizes the young man's biography—his education, his legal practice in Vermont, his unusual eloquence, his membership in the Masonic Order, his illness and short sojourn in North Carolina, and his untimely death, leaving his wife a widow and his two small daughters fatherless. It records the fact that the young man's father, Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, had had this sad memorial erected to honor his son.

Ezra Stiles died on May 12, 1795, after a brief illness. His devoted friend Dr. James Dana preached a sermon[17] and Professor Josiah Meigs pronounced the funeral oration. All of New Haven mourned his passing. His grave in the Grove Street Cemetery, adjacent to Yale, is marked by a white marble obelisk-type tombstone, erected by the Yale Corporation. The long inscription, in Latin, had become so badly eroded that it was completely illegible, so it was recently (December 2, 1980) replaced by a bronze plaque bearing the same epitaph. Here are recorded the chief facts of his career—his academic degrees, S.T.D. and LL.D.; and the two posts he held, pastor of the Second Congregational Church at Newport for twenty-two years, and President of Yale College for eighteen years. There follows a beautiful tribute to his character and testimony to the salutary influence upon his fellow man.

> Endowed with a brilliant mind trained in every branch of knowledge, a man of most gentle manners and great courtesy, of sterling character, distinguished for his charity, faith, and Christian piety, outstanding as a father, friend, teacher, minister of the Church, and a gentleman, he lived beloved by his own people, esteemed by his parishioners, and held in honor throughout the world. He died greatly mourned by all.

NOTES

1. *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.,* edited by F.B. Dexter (New York, 1901), 2.375. Stiles also gives some biographical information about Franklin. Notice of Franklin's death on April 17, 1790 is recorded in Stiles's *Diary* 3.390-91, along with an account of the funeral and further biographical data.

2. *Itineraries and Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D.D.,* edited by F.B. Dexter (New Haven, 1916), 409-10. He records the date when he copied the inscriptions, Oct. 2, 1790. Samuel Uncas's stone is now in the Memorial Museum in Norwich, Connecticut. Stiles's spelling differs somewhat from the original.

3. In the Mohegan language "waureegan" means excellent or worthy.

4. The inscription and the same introductory material are repeated by Stiles in *A History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I* (Hartford, 1794), pp. 106-7). The editor of the *Diary,* F.B. Dexter, says in a footnote that the epitaph first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for December 14, 1775 and is supposed to be the composition of Dr. Franklin. See H.P. Arnold, *Historical Sidelights* (New York, 1899), pp. 237-48, 274-77, 316-19).

5. Stiles delivered this Latin eulogy when he was only twenty-three years old. This *Oratio funebris* was published in New London in 1761.

6. His table tomb in the Old Center Cemetery in Andover has a brownstone slab with the inscription, which is still legible, even though lichens have grown over it.

7. See Samuel Orcutt, *History of the Towns of New Milford and Bridgewater, 1703-12* (Hartford, 1882), pp. 104, 233-35.

8. A.P. Mendes, "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport, R.I.," in *The Rhode Island Historical Magazine* VI (1885), pp. 90-91. The inscription on the stone is now undecipherable.

9. See *Diary* 3.515-16 for Stiles's review of his career.

10. The epitaph is concluded with the words: "Wrote by President Stiles." Stiles had earlier written at least two epitaphs for Yale students: for Daniel J. Pynchon, a junior, who died in 1754; and for Samuel Hall, Jr., who died in 1755, the year after his graduation from the university.

11. E.S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan* (Chapel Hill, 1974), p. 5.

12. They are now deposited in the Yale archives.

13. *Life of Ezra Stiles,* pp. 379-80. The small gravestones of Isaac Stiles's two wives and his father, John Stiles, are clustered near the large one.

14. The young father never saw the second child.

15. James Dana, *The Heavenly Mansions* (New Haven, 1795).

16. The epitaph is printed in *The Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society* 3 (1882), p. 589.

Cora E. Lutz *received her Ph.D. at Yale and later catalogued the pre-1600 manuscripts in the Beinecke Library there. Her research, largely on rare medieval texts, resulted in the publication of seven books and numerous articles. She is a fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America.*

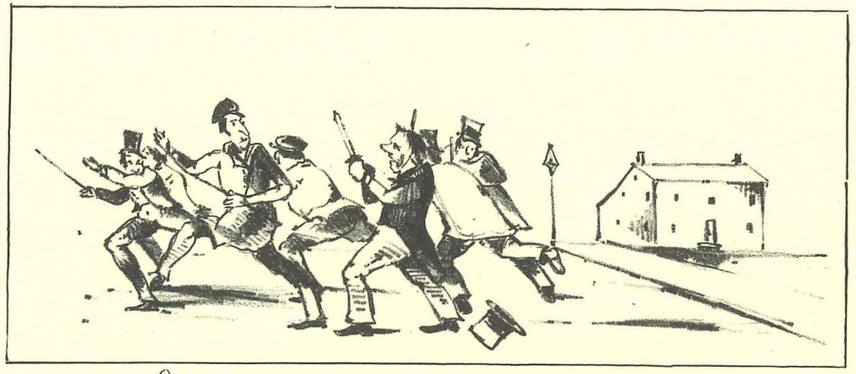
Yale-New Haven in Historical Perspective

by Floyd M. Shumway

Everybody knows in a general way that there is such a thing in New Haven as "town and gown relations," and most people are aware that they are now, or at least normally have been, poor. Exactly what has caused long-standing hostility between parts of the community and the university has been less understood, because the sources of tension have been numerous and often subtle. The situation has been improving in recent decades and particularly recently. It is not unreasonable to predict that the misunderstandings which have long agitated both parties are on the verge of resolution and that a new era of mutual respect and cooperation is in the process of being born. As we look toward this bright future, it may be instructive to recall how the troubles started and what the underlying causes really were.

Moved from Saybrook to its present location in 1717 with the encouragement, both verbal and financial, of New Haven's citizens, Yale was looked on for a full generation as an unmixed blessing. The first rumbling of discontent was heard shortly after the middle of the century when the town, long dormant economically, suddenly developed into a booming shipping center. Members of the leading original families, long accustomed to dominating every kind of local activity, now found themselves sharing business leadership with a number of non-natives, to whom they referred disparagingly as "the Interlopers." Most of these unwelcome newcomers had arrived as college students and had decided to stay on once they sensed the opportunities available in New Haven to ambitious and energetic men. Yale had inadvertently played the role of a Trojan horse, and that fact did not go unnoticed. An argument in 1782 over whether graduating seniors or the local elite should be allowed the use of the State House for a ball culminated in a head-dunking under the college pump, and it significantly found the town-born undergraduates siding with the older New Haveners rather than with their fellow students.

A bustling seaport is not inhabited solely by elegant gentlemen planning balls, and about this time sailors drinking their way up and down Chapel Street began taking pleasure in clashing with Yale boys, some of whom had taken a nip or two themselves. These fights became a ritualized tradition, which the students acknowl-



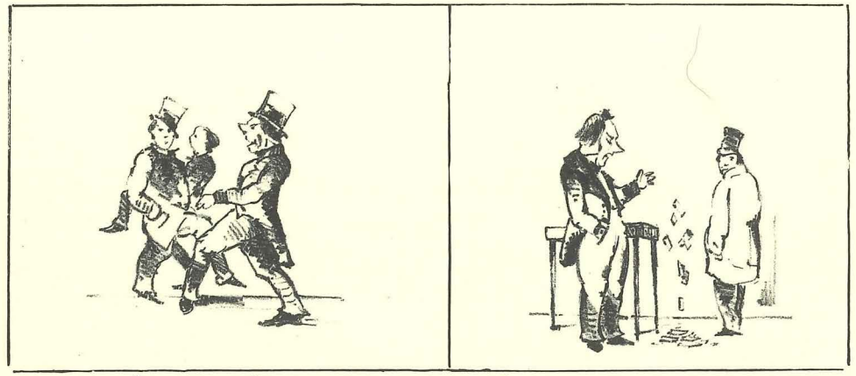
Engages in a row with the town boys.

Ichabod Academicus, a fictitious Yale student (shown above in dark tails), made his contribution to the decline in town-gown relations during his senior year. . . .

edged by the annual appointment of a "defense committee." By the 1820s the waterfront had spawned so many saloons that off-duty mariners tended less and less to venture uptown to the neighborhood of the campus. Denied this supply of natural enemies, the red-blooded sons of Eli found another one in the Fair Haven district, which they invaded regularly to brawl with the oystermen who lived and worked there.

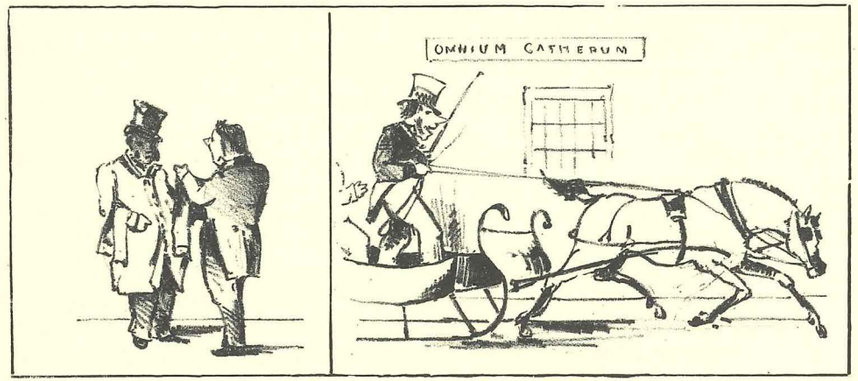
Periodic fisticuffs between local toughs and the privileged and perhaps spoiled young scholars could be condoned as youthful high spirits or could simply be ignored, but a serious incident in 1824 threw the entire community into panic and created lasting animosity toward the college. A grave was opened in the West Haven burying-ground, and the recently interred corpse of a nineteen-year-old girl was removed. As there was then no legal way to obtain cadavers, suspicion fell on Yale's Medical Institution, and after a lengthy search Constable Erastus Osborn found the missing body under a big, flat stone in the basement. An angry mob gathered, and to prevent violence the militia had to defend the building for two days and nights. Newspapers played up the story, and the fanciful rumor spread that there was a tunnel under Prospect Street between the medical school and Grove Street Cemetery for the purpose of large-scale body-snatching. The furor finally subsided, but in the meantime Yale had lost many friends.

A new and ugly chapter in the history of town-gown street warfare began in 1841. Parading volunteer fire departments were demonstrating their skill by throwing streams of water on the spire of Center Church. Nearby some college boys were playing football on the Green, and one of them stepped on a hose and checked its flow momentarily. Harsh words were followed by swinging fists and then by arrests, and that night students broke into the firehouse on High Street and smashed the engine and cut up its hose. Then followed two decades of mutual contempt, constant



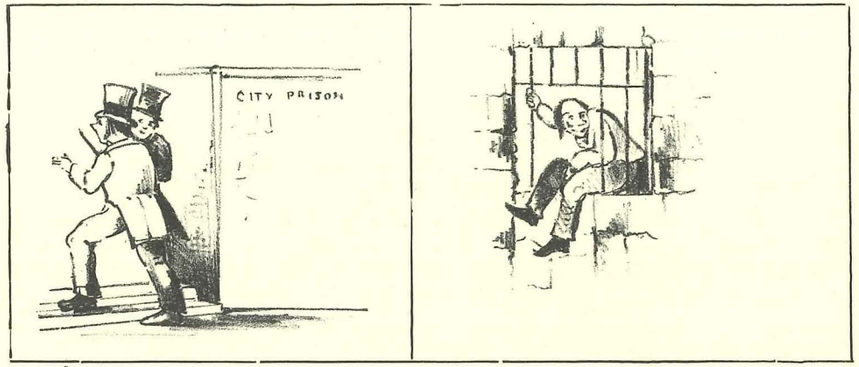
Celebrates the Victory. Is victimized at loo.

Ichabod was created by W.T. Peters in 1849. . . .



Disposes of his clothes. The proceeds furnish a frolic.

The book Ichabod Academicus *summarizes the lad's four years at Yale in cartoon depictions of his misadventures. . . .*



Gets in his cups and is incarcerated. He escapes.

(Thanks to Judith Schiff of Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, for introducing the editor to Ichabod.)

verbal bullying, and frequent clashes, in two of which in the 1850s there were deaths, both involving firemen who had provoked and led assaults.

During the 1890s Yale erected rows of dormitories along College and Chapel streets, creating a barrier that was both visible and symbolic. The new building plan did reduce the likelihood of overt conflict between campus dwellers and town residents, but it added to the university's apparent hauteur and seemed to announce a policy of local isolationism. George Dudley Seymour, a loyal alumnus and civic-minded New Havener, spearheaded a drive in 1908 to improve relations. At his urging Yale opened its museums to the general public on Sunday afternoons and soon added organ recitals in Woolsey Hall intended for the same audience. The Yale Alumni Association of New Haven, founded in 1909, gave sponsorship to Seymour's objectives and has always continued to do so.

Improved relations suffered a serious setback in May 1919, when the 102nd Infantry, arriving home from Europe, exchanged insults with Yale students while parading up Chapel Street past the campus. The battle-hardened veterans expressed their disdain for "slackers," and the collegians, many recently returned to civilian life themselves, made fun of the "tin soldiers." Tension escalated, and three days later a mob of soldiers and 5,000 of their friends had to be restrained with fire hoses as they swarmed toward Farnam, Welch and Vanderbilt halls. That confrontation set the stage for others during the 1920s, which often started when campus riots spread out into town. During the depression years the violence tapered off, but the mood was still bad as Yalies looked down on what they perceived as uncouth townies, and the latter were visibly amused by the behavior of what they took to be pampered, light-headed adolescents.

After a busy World War II period which allowed no time for petty misunderstandings, a great university and an important American city took stock of their existing

situations, their problems, their aspirations, and also the relationship of Yale and New Haven to one another. There was an increased effort on both sides to work together and to find solutions that helped everybody. Much was accomplished, but there were necessarily mixed reactions to some programs. Yale's physical expansion infuriated some people, and university officials winced at the occasional threats to strip Yale of some or all of its tax-free status. Richard Lee was widely regarded as one of the great mayors of his time, but there were those who viewed his bold and energetic policy of urban renewal as a sell-out to Yale designed to spruce up neighborhoods adjacent to university property by driving out poor families.

We are now in the era of Mayor Biagio DiLieto and President A. Bartlett Giamatti, two gentlemen passionately devoted to closer ties and better feelings, and there is a real sense that enormous progress is being made on all fronts. The bad times really do seem to have ended, and the city and its most important institution can begin to build a better future together.

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Political Dissent in the New Haven Colony, 1643-1660: A Closer Look

by R.W. Roetger

Several historians of New England have exaggerated the significance of political dissent in the New Haven Colony. Writing near the turn of the century, Henry T. Blake suggested that the colony's outlying towns existed in a state of "chronic rebellion."[1] Nearly forty years later, Charles M. Andrews wrote that widespread political disaffection was present in the colony prior to the Restoration.[2] Similarly, Andrews's student Isabel M. Calder, whose *New Haven Colony* (1934) remains the most professionally done study of the jurisdiction, discerned rebellions in satellite towns such as Stamford and Southold.[3] The causes of the revolts, so argued Calder, were twofold: a narrowly based political franchise and a system of government which was arbitrary in nature. Subsequent writers, especially those who relied on Andrews or Calder as authorities, have adopted the same view.[4]

Yet few of these writers have given the subject of political dissent formal consideration. For the most part, previous interpretations, especially those conceptualized in the nineteenth century, were designed to fit the needs of general histories.[5] Statements relating to political discontent amounted to little more than general summaries. To be sure, the primary concerns of such studies did not necessitate in-depth inquiry into the origin, execution, and prosecution of cases involving political disaffection. Moreover, topics such as political dissent, church polity, or agriculture were small pieces of a much larger historical reconstruction. For example, Blake focused on events which occurred on or around the New Haven Green over a two-hundred-year period; Andrews on the entire colonial period; Calder exclusively on the New Haven Colony, with special emphasis on imperial affairs. The result has been a melange of generalized, indeed on occasion unsubstantiated, assumptions regarding the basic character of political dissent.

In light of these unsupported assertions several questions arise. Did previous historians utilize extensively colony court records before arriving at their determinations? Were they cognizant of the broadly based colony franchise?[6] Did they realize that the colony's voters consistently elected the same men to positions of leadership, the very men who framed laws and exercised authority? To date, no clear guidelines

have been established to gauge political dissent in the New Haven Colony—or for that matter, any New England colony—in the seventeenth century. Nor has there been any attempt to place disaffection in a meaningful political perspective. Both, it seems, are necessary prerequisites for the study of political dissent.

Guidelines are generally established through definition. Such a determination is somewhat hampered by a pair of noteworthy obstacles, however. The most formidable relates to the colonists themselves, for they did not comprehensively define the meaning of political dissent.[7] The primary reason for this was the Puritan concept of order, the belief that members of a given community were knit together as one body.[8] There was no need to differentiate precisely between political dissent on the one hand and social deviance on the other; both threatened community stability. Nevertheless, distinctions did exist. The aberrant servant who went about corrupting the youth of New Haven cannot be equally categorized with the discontented resident of Stamford who made seditious speeches directed at the jurisdiction government. Both threatened order, but in different ways. The servant endangered the foundations of moral behavior and perhaps social order, while the firebrand challenged the foundations of government, of constitutional order. Furthermore, modes of punishment (or from the Puritan standpoint, means of reformation) indicate implicit distinctions. If brought to trial and convicted, the servant would receive a form of physical punishment such as whipping; the firebrand a fine or a bond of good behavior. To illustrate in another way: How would one characterize a group of individuals who attempted to organize an unauthorized military expedition against the Dutch? Again, order is disrupted, but to be sure it is a different form of disruption than that of the outspoken goodwife who opposed John Davenport's position on baptism. In the case of the former, if needed, prosecution would be carried out in civil court; for the latter, in the congregation. Here again, distinctions existed, but previous historians have been satisfied to group all such instances of lawless conduct under the catchall and amorphous heading of dissent.

Difficulty of categorization relates specifically to another, albeit less serious, obstacle in arriving at a meaningful definition: the failure of historians to establish guidelines. With contemporary writers at least, the problem is not one of categorical confusion. Rather it boils down to the singular lack of definition. Relative to Massachusetts, for instance, there have been studies which have dealt with religious disorder,[9] as well as those which have focused generally on criminal behavior,[10] but there is a dearth of studies devoted primarily to the exploration of political dissent. Yet when writing of the confrontation between Watertown residents and the General Court in Massachusetts, Robert E. Wall was clearly delineating a political, indeed a constitutional, crisis. So too with George L. Haskins, who recounted the inter-governmental clashes over negative voice and the standing council. And when Edmund S. Morgan reported on the difficulties over enfranchisement which originated with Robert Child, the issue was once again political in scope.[11] Each instance is an example of the same thing: dispute over basic provisions of the Massachusetts political system. It seems reasonable, then, that the parameters of

political dissent exclude purely ecclesiastical or purely deviant behavior. Accordingly, political dissent may be defined as a tangible expression of discontent directed solely at town or jurisdiction government, the powers and structure of which were defined by some form of constitution.[12]

To build upon this definition by way of perspective, the comparative approach is especially useful. Among other things, it permits a measurable, although limited, dimension to the study of political dissent. The very existence of discontent, of course, indicates that some individuals were displeased with existing conditions. In and of itself this is not unusual. What determines the seriousness of disaffection is the fashion in which malcontents were prosecuted. If this was done in a lenient manner which permitted equitable resolution and return to normality, then perhaps an episode of dissent was not as serious as modern observers might suspect. Such was the case with each of the few known incidents of dissent in the New Haven Colony. If, however, prolonged and perfidious dissent resulted (as was occasionally the case in Massachusetts) in some manifestation of constitutional realignment, then it should be viewed in a different, perhaps a more serious, light. Finally, if political dissent was so severe that the result was revolution or disintegration of settled government, it had patently passed beyond the stage of control and reconciliation. Not until the waning of the seventeenth century, however, did circumstances such as these arise. And even the so-called Glorious Revolution was not a conflict between settlers and the form of colonial government with which they were traditionally acquainted, but rather with the externally imposed regime of Sir Edmund Andros.[13] Moreover, the first sixty years of settlement in New England were marked by relative political stability. Despite the occasional presence of political disaffection, the governments of New England colonies did not fragment as rapidly or pervasively as did social or ecclesiastical institutions.

Between 1643 and 1660 there were five cases of political dissent in the New Haven Colony. The first two originated at Stamford when the colony was threatened by an invasion from the Dutch and their Indian allies. The first concerned extralegal action of raising troops to attack the Dutch. The second case centered on the question of political participation. Two additional instances of dissent occurred in Southold during the same period. One was related to the election of militia officers and the other to the oath of fidelity which was required of all the colony's inhabitants. The fifth case of discontent took place at Stamford in 1656 when a group of Greenwich residents refused to acknowledge the authority of the jurisdiction. Each episode resulted in a return to normality and in cessation of grievances on the part of individuals involved.

At a General Court held in August 1653, the representatives from Stamford reported "that there is in their town some that do work great disturbance, professing they will pay no rates to these common charges, because nothing is done against the Dutch. . . ."[14] In response, the Court advised the representatives to collect as many taxes as possible and to submit a list of recalcitrant individuals at the next session of the Court. The incident reads as if it were merely a matter of routine business, but

beneath the surface concern was apparent. England was at war with the United Provinces, and at a recent meeting of the United Colony commissioners much attention had been devoted to the feasibility of a colonial-instituted invasion of New Amsterdam. New Haven and Connecticut would comply with the commissioners' less than unanimous decision not to attack, although leaders in both colonies were distressed with Massachusetts' interpretation of the Articles of Confederation.[15] Both New Haven and Connecticut had frontier towns which abutted the jurisdiction of the Dutch. So vexed were members of these communities by the Dutch and Indian threat that they were "greatly hindered in their ploughing, sowing, planting, and in all their affairs. They were worn down with constant watching and guarding, and put to great expense for the common safety."[16] Stamford was one of these frontier communities.

By November of 1653 a small group of restless settlers was prepared to take matters into its own hands. The General Court received a "writing" from the malcontents of Stamford indicating that they were going to "raise up volunteers to go against the Dutch, and that themselves will send forth ten men well furnished for war." Additionally, a letter was received from Roger Ludlow[17] of Fairfield "informing of a meeting they had . . . at which they have concluded to go against the Dutch, and have chosen him for their chief. . . . "[18] On this occasion the Court expressed serious concern over the state of affairs but voted that "considering the hazards and dangers attending such a design . . . they not see themselves called to vote for a present war but to suspend a full issue until Connecticut jurisdiction be acquainted with it and give notice what they will do."[19]

This, then, was the immediate background of the first Stamford incident. Since the mid-forties the town had been occasionally harassed by Indians, and in fact John Whitmore, a representative at the General Court from the town, had been slain in 1648. Yet there exists no evidence of discontent prior to 1653. That on this occasion some residents of Stamford, as well as those of Connecticut towns, were in a state of "rebellion" suggests that the issue was not one of poor government entirely, but rather of frustration and fear. Had either of the two governments bowed to the smaller issue by ignoring the larger and sent an aggressive force against New Amsterdam, the consequences for all of the towns in both colonies could have been grave. Accordingly, the New Haven Colony leaders sought the safest path towards resolution. Even before the events in Stamford action had been taken. In June of 1653 Governor Theophilus Eaton had decided to put the case before Oliver Cromwell. By February of 1654 the Lord Protector had reached his decision: a military force of New Englanders under the leadership of Robert Sedgwick and John Leverett was to move against the Dutch. During the winter the situation in southern New England had eased to the point that no further complaints were voiced from the frontier towns. Nor were any of the individuals solely involved in the proposed unauthorized expedition summoned before the Court for legal redress. To say the least, the colony's leaders were not insensitive to the issue; rather they refused to act in haste. When the leaders of the colony received news of Cromwell's decision, they ordered

troops to be raised from each of the colony's towns.[20] All was in a state of preparedness when news arrived that agreements of peace had been reached between England and the United Provinces.[21]

How then should this instance of political dissent be assessed? To be sure, a group of individuals was upset with the colony's government because it felt that not enough was being done in the way of protection, even though the Court had recognized previously that due to the "troublesome times" a portion of the Stamford rates would be abated.[22] And that the extralegal invasion was never followed through suggests that the dissenters themselves realized the possible consequences of their proposed action. Finally, one of the organizers of the endeavor subsequently reported that "they intended to raise nothing against the jurisdiction but against the Dutch" only.[23] Because the origin of dissent in this instance was related to an external threat, and because there was neither execution nor prosecution of the design involved, one is led to believe, through official documents, that this was not a serious occasion of political disaffection.

What one historian termed the most serious incident of political dissent in the colony's history was associated with the planned invasion.[24] Unlike the latter case, however, the colony's records offer fewer insights into the origin of the issue, although it was clearly related to political participation in general and the lack of unspecified English liberties. It began when the Court received a letter revealing a difference of opinion between the town of Stamford and John Chapman, a former freeman of New Haven and one-time representative of the frontier community. The Court urged the parties involved to try and settle the dispute themselves, but when this proved impossible magistrates Stephen Goodyear and Francis Newman were dispatched to resolve the quarrel. Proliferation of grievances, rather than resolution, was the result. Chapman was joined by Robert Basset, previously town drummer of New Haven, and by two other residents, in a series of protestations expressing "discontent with the present government they are under, pleading that they might have their free votes in the choice of civil officers. . . . "[25] All reports suggest a scene of true discord: the magistrates and Stamford officials Richard Law and Francis Bell trying to maintain a semblance of order; confused residents who were content with existing conditions looking on in bewilderment (or amusement); and the malcontents vociferously, indeed at times insolently, voicing their complaints, which included the lack of money and manpower needed, in their estimation, to defend themselves against the Dutch. Ultimately, Goodyear and Newman were able to effect order by producing a Parliamentary proclamation directing the residents of the jurisdiction to adhere faithfully to the laws of the New Haven government. The confrontation ended with the understanding that the principal troublemakers would report to the governor at a forthcoming session of the General Court.

The charges brought against the dissenters were basically similar and are exemplified by examining the case of one of the defendants. At a Court held on March 22, 1654, Jeremiah Jagger was told that "his way had been a way of disturbance in Stamford, which had had influence into the whole jurisdiction . . . ,"

that he had "acted so as to overthrow the very foundations of the government here laid . . . ,"[26] that he had objected to the fact that town officials were essentially church officials who were chosen by their fellow members, and that he remarked of the disenfranchised that "we are bond-men, and so will our children be. . . ."[27] Furthermore, Jagger had spoken contemptuously of the United Colony commissioners, "saying they sat long, but what did they, he could have three or four plowmen should do as much in three or four days . . . ;" and finally, that he suggested that Stamford representative Francis Bell "was a silly fellow to be set in authority."[28] Jagger was then asked if he had taken the jurisdiction's oath of fidelity and when he responded affirmatively, he was reminded that contrary to his oath and the laws of the colony, his actions had been such as "not to be suffered in any member of this jurisdiction."

At first Jagger tried to deny the charges against him, but eventually confessed that they were indeed accurate. The admonitions of the Court had successfully resulted in humiliation and confession. Accordingly, Jagger told the Court that he had made an "unreverent sinful speech, and that he had carried it ill in all other respects, and was sorry for it, . . . and were they to do again he should not do them, and hopes it will be a warning to him hereafter."[29] As it turned out, Jagger received more than a warning: "The court orders that he pay as a fine to the jurisdiction twenty pounds, and that he bind himself in a one hundred pound bond, to attend his oath of fidelity hereafter and maintain the foundations laid for the government here and the laws of the jurisdiction."[30] While the practice of posting large bonds of good behavior was not uncommon in New England, Jagger's fine of £20 was excessive by New Haven Colony standards. It might be suggested, however, that his punishment was lenient given the circumstances. For example, there was a colony statute stipulating that if any shall "treacherously or perfidiously attempt the alteration and subversion of the frame of policy, or fundamental government laid, . . . he or they shall be put to death."[31] More to the point is the notion that the aim of Jagger's punishment was reformation. Few colonists could afford to surrender such large fines out of their personal estates, and the leaders of the colony were well aware of this. As was the case in Massachusetts, penalties resulting from civil prosecution were often fully or partially remitted.[32] The case of Jagger was no exception. In May of 1655 he petitioned the General Court asking that his fine be abated and forgiven. On this occasion, perhaps as a reminder of his transgressions, the Court declared that it would pass over the fine for the present, even though it would not be totally remitted. Two years later Jagger again petitioned the Court and asked that both his fine and his bond be forgiven. After the Court considered the proposal and "upon inquiry understood from the deputies of Stamford that his carriage had been orderly and to their satisfaction," Jagger was fully released from his bond, and although not remitted, his fine was once again passed over.[33] There is no evidence that at the time of his death in 1658 Jagger had paid his fine, or that his administrators were asked to surrender the amount from his estate of £472.[34] As for the other defendants in the case, Chapman died a year after the incident took place, William Newman received

no fine, and while Robert Basset did, it was fully remitted in May of 1658, even though at that time he was placed under a bond of good behavior.[35]

During this so-called rebellion no arms had been raised against the jurisdiction government, no conspiracies had been planned, and there is no evidence that the dissenters had influenced adversely other inhabitants of the colony. Yet the incident turned out to be the most serious case of political dissent in the colony's history. Apparently displeased with the provisions of the franchise, the dissenters had actively expressed their grievances. And unlike the case of the planned invasion, the malcontents were prosecuted in civil court. While the magistrates did not consider the incident to be a case of outright rebellion, sizable fines and bonds had been meted out. Symbolically they were meant to remind the dissenters that one must live under established laws, and the fact that remission of penalties occurred suggests that the issue was resolved to the satisfaction of all involved. Importantly, in this most serious case, order had been restored with a minimal amount of difficulty.

Collectively, the next two cases of political disaffection dragged on for a period of seven years and involved a group of individuals from Southold. In June of 1653 the General Court received "sundry reports of an unsatisfying offensive way of carriage in some at Southold," who had "grown weary of that way of civil government which they have for divers years (and with much comfort and safety) lived under. . . ."[36] First, there was some disagreement between the town and John Youngs, Jr., the son of the local minister. Secondly, there was a group of seven residents who refused to take the colony's oath of fidelity. Neither case necessitated serious punitive measures, and, as in previous cases, the outcome was a return to normality.

The complete nature of the disagreement between the town and John Youngs is not clear. At a General Court held on March 8, 1654, a letter was received from Southold representative William Wells charging Youngs with unspecified "high miscarriages." Although the Court expressed interest in the case, it was powerless to act because at the time Youngs was confined in a prison at New Amsterdam.[37] In an incident associated with the general crisis over the Dutch, Youngs and one Captain John Scott had illegally entered territorial waters of New Netherlands. The pair maintained that it was for trading purposes only (even though this had been outlawed by the Court), and the Dutch held that entry had hostile intentions.[38] By May, however, Youngs had been released and appeared before the Court. At the session a major aspect of the Southold disagreement was revealed: Youngs refused to obey military officers whom he had not had a hand in choosing. As was the case with Jagger, the Court was successful in obtaining the desired confession, whereupon Youngs lamented that he was sorry "he had given such offense and hopes he shall take the warning and walk to better satisfaction hereafter." The Court then "remitted his offense without fine or punishment," although he was directed to post a bond of good behavior.[39] Some years later, both Youngs and his accuser, William Wells, were nominated for the magistracy.[40] Indeed, so minor was the case that one nearly misses it when reading through the colony's records.

Even less serious was the issue at Southold over the oath of fidelity. It was called to

the attention of the Court at roughly the same time as the Youngs case, although it was not resolved until some time later. In fact, no positive action was taken until 1659, which suggests that the problem was not as serious as might be suspected. In May of that year John Corey was hailed before a Court of Magistrates and asked why he and six others refused to take the oath of fidelity, which in essence bound residents of the jurisdiction to obey its laws. Strangely enough, the group was not displeased with the laws as they stood to date; rather, they did not wish to subscribe themselves to "obedience of such laws as are yet to be made." The Court replied that the "oath is safe, and not intended for a snare to any, for it is only the wholesome laws, made or to be made, that they are required to engage to submit to."[41] When Corey appeared unconvinced, the Court offered to draft a special oath for the group, but when this proved unsatisfactory the case was postponed until the following October. At that time, however, the case was once again delayed in order to give the malcontents more time to reach a decision. By May of 1660 the group had made up its mind, William Wells certifying to the Court "that John Corey, John Swansey, Mr. John Booth, Joseph Youngs Sr., Thomas Rider, Edward Petty, Thomas Moore, Jr., (who were all bound over to this court . . .) had taken the oath of fidelity."[42] So ended the fourth incident of political dissent.

Had either case been an indication that Southold existed in a state of chronic rebellion? Hardly. The case of John Youngs had been less serious, as the records indicate, than the second Stamford incident. And the problem over the oath of fidelity was one which caused anything but consternation among the residents or the leaders of the colony. In fact, there is evidence which suggests that the leaders were dilatory in encouraging and administering the oath. But when it was called for, as was done in New Haven on several occasions, only one of the 336 subscribers in that town had any second thoughts, and even that was momentary. Had the Southold group used the fact that it had not taken the oath as a justification for lawless conduct, then perhaps the issue would have had different dimensions. As it stands, the case only presented minor difficulties, fewer indeed than many of the criminal cases such as those of sexual misconduct that were prosecuted in the Court of Magistrates.

The fifth and final case of political dissent during this period of the colony's history involved a group of Stamford outlivers, residents of Greenwich, who refused to recognize the authority of the New Haven or, for that matter, the Stamford governments. The discontent surfaced between the years 1653 and 1656 and involved an entirely different group of individuals from those included in the previous disturbances.

In the early 1640s the territory of Greenwich had been purchased by a group of Englishmen. Because the land lay between the jurisdiction of the English at New Haven and that of the Dutch at New Amsterdam, there was some question as to which government it should properly belong. In 1643 one of the purchasers, Robert Feak, formally requested that the territory become a part of the New Haven Colony. A year later another purchaser, Daniel Patrick, who was later ironically murdered by a Dutchman, asked that the land be placed under the authority of the New

Netherlands government. For several years the plantation remained a part of the latter until the 1650 boundary settlement with Connecticut clearly placed Greenwich in English territory.[43] Although New Haven moved immediately to claim the town, its official designation remained doubtful for some time.

Finally, in 1653, Stamford authorities requested that something be done about this uncertainty. As long as Greenwich remained independent of New Haven Colony authority it also remained a threat to Stamford. All reports suggest that the village of Greenwich was rather uncivil. There was neither a settled church nor a settled government. Stamford officials were concerned over the prolonged bad influence of the settlement, which was in the habit of "admitting of drunkeness both among English and Indians, whereby they are apt to do mischief, both to themselves and others; they receive disorderly children or servants who fly from their parents or masters lawful correction," and, "besides other miscarriages," they "marry persons in a disorderly way."[44] An historian of Greenwich has asserted that one reason why the people there did not want to acknowledge New Haven authority was because they had not drawn much sustenance from it and therefore did not feel obligated to submit to its laws.[45] But when New Haven formally offered sustenance and requested submission of Greenwich in 1656 there was resistance. This could not have been too serious, because the records do not fully explicate the disagreement. Simply, one finds that in late 1656 Stamford officials were successful in effecting a peaceful union.[46]

That political dissent existed in the New Haven Colony cannot be denied. What can be denied are the assertions relative to its frequency and its severity. From the vantage point of the twentieth century, the cases just outlined do not appear to have been rebellions, nor do they appear to have had any effects across the colony. One might indeed suppose that a yeoman in Branford never heard of the tumultuous meeting at Stamford or of the refusal of Southold residents to take the oath of fidelity. Perhaps more to the point, however, is that the records of the New Haven Colony reveal the same thing. As official documents clearly indicate, the incidents of dissent in the colony were neither prolonged nor especially divisive. Malcontents were brought to the Court and for the most part prosecuted swiftly and often leniently. Of additional import is the fact that during this period of the colony's history the majority of the towns were peaceful. No rumblings of dissent were felt from Milford, Branford, or Guilford. Even in New Haven, which was the largest town and had the narrowest franchise, there is no evidence of political discontent. Moreover, such dissent in the colony as a whole reached only minor proportions, and there is every indication that it was resolved to the satisfaction of all parties involved. But what about other New England colonies? Was there political dissent elsewhere? If other colonies totally lacked disaffections, then perhaps New Haven shines like a beacon representing a narrow system of government that intrinsically engendered dissent. If, however, there is significant evidence pointing to dissent in other areas of New England, then those events in the New Haven Colony might well be assessed in this perspective.

Because the political systems of New Haven and Massachusetts were fundamentally alike, political events in the Bay Colony suit the purposes of comparison very well. In each, the regulations relative to the franchise were essentially identical, as were the principal organs of government and the overall legal code. The following examples of political disaffection are designed to show that dissent in the Bay Colony was more diverse and more serious than that in the New Haven Colony. The first example concerns a movement which culminated in representative government in Massachusetts. The second example focuses on a political crisis which, among other things, centered on the franchise, and which proved to be the most damaging threat to the Bay Colony's political system prior to the Restoration.

The charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company provided for a governor, deputy governor, and assistants (collectively called magistrates) to manage the colony's political affairs. As stipulated in the charter, these officers of the government were to be elected annually by the freemen of the company.[47] Realizing that the franchise was rather limited, the leaders feared that they might be charged with promulgating arbitrary government.[48] A plan was effected immediately for broadening the franchise, but at the same time certain privileges of the freemen were compromised. At a General Court held in October 1630 it was decided that the freemen should have the power "of choosing assistants when they are to be chosen," but that the assistants would from amongst themselves "choose a governor and deputy governor, who with the assistants should have the power of making laws and choosing officers to execute the same."[49] Although the action had been "fully assented unto by a general vote of the people," it was nevertheless a violation of the company charter.[50] Among other things the charter had specified that the entire General Court—which included the freemen—would possess the power to make laws. It was this violation that relates specifically to the move for a more representative form of government.

Having assumed this initiative the magistrates proceeded with the business of government. In the spring of 1632 it was ordered that £60 be levied on the colony "towards the making of a palisade" around the settlement of Newtown.[51] The community of Watertown was instructed to contribute £8 towards the cost of construction. The pastor of the Watertown church, George Phillips, convinced the residents, as related by John Winthrop, that "it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves into bondage."[52] Fearing that resistance from Watertown would spread to neighboring communities, the magistrates moved to allow two men from each plantation to be appointed to confer with the Court "about raising public stock." At the same session of the Court it was ordered that freemen could take part in electing the governor and his deputy, as originally stipulated in the charter. This provision did not stop, and there is no indication that it was meant to stop, the growing movement towards a fully representative government. Believing that they should be represented in all affairs of the General Court, the colony's freemen elected representatives to attend the session on May 14, 1634. At the meeting it was suggested that the charter be read so that everyone could be properly informed of his rights. And it was requested that the entire Court, freemen and

leaders alike, participate in the passing of all laws. When John Winthrop suggested that because of the ever-increasing number of freemen such an arrangement would be impractical, there remained only one alternative.[53] Accordingly, the representatives or deputies became a permanent feature of the Massachusetts political system. It was agreed upon that two or three representatives would be elected "by the freemen of the several plantations, to deal in their behalf in the public affairs of the commonwealth," and "shall have the full power and voices of all the said freemen derived to them for the making and establishing of laws. . . ."[54]

For over twenty years the freemen and the representatives of the colony strove to check the powers of the magistrates.[55] The movement towards representative government was an early chapter of that story. Realizing that the colony's franchise would have to be broadened, the magistrates attempted to retain as much legislative power as they could. Desiring, however, that their rights as defined by the charter be safeguarded, the freemen of the colony objected to certain laws passed by the magistrates. Essentially, the Watertown affair differed from political dissent in the New Haven Colony in two respects. First, it was colony-wide, for it involved most of the communities in the Bay Colony rather than just a small group of individuals. Secondly, resolution necessitated important constitutional realignment. Dissent in New Haven simply was never as widespread or of such magnitude. But, as was the case in New Haven, the disruption associated with the movement for representative government was ephemeral. On other occasions the Massachusetts leaders were less fortunate. Perhaps the clearest example of this is the turmoil surrounding the Remonstrance of 1646.

In Edmund S. Morgan's *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop,* the Remonstrance was placed cogently in a chapter entitled "Foreign Affairs." Indeed, so serious was the case of the Remonstrance that it included participants on both sides of the Atlantic. Although Dr. Robert Child, the principal signer of the Remonstrance, is generally identified with it, Robert E. Wall has, at great length, argued effectively that William Vassall of Plymouth Colony was the mastermind of the protest.[56] Winthrop described Vassall as "a man of a busy and factious spirit, and always opposite to the civil government of this country and the way of our churches."[57] Basically Vassall's grudge against the Massachusetts leaders was a familiar one: deprivation of English liberties at the hand of a narrow and arbitrary government. Perhaps a catalyst to the dissent in Massachusetts was the rise of Presbyterianism in England and the realization that there one could participate in political affairs without the restrictions of a religious qualification.[58] Vassall's own Presbyterian views were no doubt connected with his belief that throughout Massachusetts there were groups of disaffected nonfreemen. But because he lived in the Plymouth Colony, Vassall had to seek the aid of malcontents in Massachusetts to make his point effectively. This is how Robert Child entered the picture.

In May of 1646 the Remonstrance and Humble Petition was presented to the General Court. It was signed by Child and six other nonfreemen of the colony.[59] The document claimed that the government of Massachusetts did not provide laws

comparable to those in England. In the Remonstrance the government was charged with arbitrary rule, with promulgating "unequal and unbalanced" justice, and with causing nonfreemen to live in "perpetual slavery and bondage." Because the petitioners felt that thousands of Bay Colony residents were barred from any "vote in choosing magistrates, captains, or other civil or military officers," they asked for a broadening of the franchise and the liberalization of church membership requirements. Believing that they would receive support from the disenfranchised, as well as from the representatives to the General Court who had opposed the magistrates on many issues, the petitioners hoped for a major degree of success. And barring internal reform they could always win their case in Parliament.

The Remonstrants were wrong on both counts. In Massachusetts the General Court moved swiftly through a series of four countermeasures to discredit the Remonstrance. Perhaps the most serious blow to the petitioners was the lack of support from within the colony. Neither the nonfreemen nor the representatives decided to back the Remonstrants. In fact, both houses of the General Court concurred with the charges brought against the petitioners. Among other things, they were charged with "speeches tending sedition," with defamation of government and with weakening its very foundations.[60] Before the Court the dissenters continued to maintain their previous stand, with Child adding that he should not have wasted the petition on the Court, but rather should have appealed directly to the Commission for Foreign Plantations in England. When it became clear that the Remonstrants would not reform, heavy fines were meted out. Quite naturally, Child's fine of £50 was the highest.[61]

The issue, however, remained far from dead. When it was obvious that internal support was not forthcoming, steps were taken to appeal to England. And Massachusetts had taken steps of her own by appointing Edward Winslow agent to travel to the mother country in order to reaffirm the colony's authority as defined by the charter of 1629. It was, therefore, imperative that Child remain in New England. Accordingly, as Child was on the verge of leaving, he was seized by colony officials. Although Child had no damaging evidence in his possession, he was linked to a series of documents calling for a governor general which were in the hands of John Smith, one of the original Remonstrants. Another trial was set for May 1647, which meant that unless the good doctor could post £800 bail he would have to remain in Massachusetts for at least an additional six months. At the trial the guilty parties again refused to acknowledge their wrongdoing, and as before heavy fines resulted. Child was fined £200 and ordered imprisoned until partial or full payment was made. For second offenders such as John Smith, John Dand, and Samuel Maverick, fines were nearly as weighty: they were ordered to pay £100, £200, and £150 respectively. Child paid his fine and quickly left for England, while the others, with the exception of Dand, whose fine was remitted after a year of imprisonment, paid their fines and stayed.[62] Unfortunately for Child, the delaying tactics of the Court had been successful. Although Vassall and Thomas Fowle had sailed for England at the same time as Winslow, they were plagued by an array of problems. Due to a

particularly rough crossing the teleological-minded Puritans on board had forced them to destroy their petitions and other seditious documents. Meanwhile, in the mother country supporters of Massachusetts had been lobbying for the continuation of the colony's independent status. And, due to the nuances of Parliamentary politics at the time, the Commission for Foreign Plantations ultimately concurred with Winslow's arguments.

Massachusetts had survived the crisis—but not without hardship. For nearly two years the question of the Remonstrance and Bay Colony independence had disrupted political stability. As in the Watertown affair the case of the Remonstrance differed from incidents of political dissent in the New Haven Colony. First, the episode shook the entire political system of the Bay. And, while not tremendously serious, there had been division among the members of the General Court as to how the malcontents should be handled. Never did this happen in the New Haven Colony in cases involving political disaffection. And there was in the Bay the real threat of arousing disenfranchised elements of the population. Additionally, the degree of prosecution and the fact that the issue was not concluded with the original trial indicates its serious proportions. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the case reached beyond the shores of New England. Never did the cases in New Haven require such drastic action.

Although political dissent existed in both the New Haven and Massachusetts colonies, there remains a fundamental difference in the character of disaffection. In New Haven the cases were localized and generally brief. Colony authorities were able to resolve the difficulties with apparent ease. Perhaps the primary reason for this was the fact that dissenters in the colony on the Sound never expressed any hard-core ideological grievances. The cases were the result of rather practical problems, such as the Dutch crisis, which needed swift and practical solutions. In Massachusetts, however, the problems were of a more ideological nature. The best example of this was the movement to secure a representative form of government; a fundamental question as to who should rule, how they would rule, and when they could rule. And the Watertown case was but one possible example. Others could have been used to support the theory that in Massachusetts dissent was more ideological than in New Haven. The conflict between Roger Williams and the magistrates over authority, the clashes over negative voice and the standing council, and the Hingham case and the issue over the impeachment of John Winthrop all could have been used to add strength to the thesis that political dissent in the Bay was more serious than that in New Haven. When viewed from this perspective, the incidents of discontent in New Haven indeed appear minor. And they were. The assertion by Andrews that there was substantial dissent in the colony simply does not stand up under careful examination. Nor does the belief on the part of Blake or Calder, for example, that there was outright rebellion at Stamford and Southold. In short, it may be concluded that the New Haven Colony was indeed a peaceable kingdom. This becomes even more apparent when compared with Massachusetts. Unfortunately for the leaders of New Haven, the Restoration and the subsequent

Connecticut charter of 1662 brought an end to the kingdom over which they had ruled successfully for two decades.

NOTES

1. *Chronicles of New Haven Green from 1638 to 1862* (New Haven, 1898), p. 52.

2. *The Colonial Period of American History,* 4 vols. (New Haven, 1934-38), vol. 2, pp. 183-88.

3. *The New Haven Colony* (New Haven, 1934), pp. 106-29. While acknowledging the stature of Calder's study, Richard Hegel in his recent *Nineteenth-Century Historians of New Haven* (Hamden, Connecticut, 1972) suggested that: "Her services are a superior guide to further detailed research on the Colony." See p. 85.

4. An exception is John E. Pomfret with Floyd M. Shumway, *Founding the American Colonies, 1583-1660* (New York, 1970), pp. 273-74.

5. For example, see Edward E. Atwater, *History of the Colony of New Haven to Its Absorption into Connecticut* (New Haven, 1881), pp. 404-18; E.B. Huntington, *History of Stamford, Connecticut, from Its Settlement in 1641, to the Present Time, Including Darien, Which Was One of Its Parishes until 1820* (Stamford, 1868), pp. 74-83; and Charles H. Levermore, *The Republic of New Haven: A History of Municipal Evolution* (Baltimore, 1886), p. 70.

6. Most writers assumed that the New Haven franchise was narrow. This is precisely what one finds after reconstructing the adult male population and tracing the number of freemen admitted year by year. What has also been assumed is that the other towns in the colony must have had an equally small electorate. Yet if one utilizes carefully records of these towns (especially Branford, Guilford and Milford), one finds the franchise to have been much broader than in New Haven, indeed consistent with towns in other areas of New England.

7. A similar argument is found in Kai T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York, 1966), p. 168.

8. For good discussions on order consult Stephen Foster, *Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First Century of Settlement in New England* (New Haven, 1971), pp. 11-40; Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England,* rev. ed. (New York, 1966), pp. 17-28; and Darrett B. Rutman, *Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649* (Chapel Hill, 1965), chapter 1.

9. For instance, Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Chapel Hill, 1962); and Emil Oberholzer, Jr., *Delinquent Saints: Disciplinary Action in the Early Congregational Churches of Massachusetts* (New York, 1955).

10. Two different approaches are found in Erikson, *Wayward Puritans;* and Edwin Powers, *Crime and Punishment in Early Massachusetts, 1620-1692* (Boston, 1966).

11. *Massachusetts Bay: The Crucial Decade, 1640-1650* (New Haven, 1972), pp. 6-10; *Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts: A Study in Tradition and Design* (New York, 1960), pp. 31-42; and *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston, 1958), pp. 199-205, respectively.

12. A constitution or frame of laws, therefore, could apply to simple plantation covenants such as those associated with the founding of New Haven or Guilford, or could apply to a statement of fundamental principles and laws like that established at the first General Court of the New Haven Colony in 1643.

13. For the period in general consult Viola F. Barnes, *The Dominion of New England* (New Haven, 1923); T.H. Breen, *The Character of the Good Ruler: A Study of Puritan Political Ideas in New England, 1630-1730* (New Haven, 1970); and David S. Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America* (New York, 1972).

14. Charles J. Hoadly, ed., *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union* ... (Hartford, 1858), p. 24. Hereafter *New Haven Colony Records,* 2.

15. Benjamin Trumbull, *A Complete History of Connecticut* . . . , 2 vols. (New Haven, 1818), vol. 1, pp. 211-12.

16. *Ibid.,* p. 203.

17. Roger Ludlow was once the deputy governor of Massachusetts, and on several occasions was a magistrate of Connecticut. See John M. Taylor, *Roger Ludlow: The Colonial Lawmaker* (New York, 1900).

18. *New Haven Colony Records,* 2, p. 47.

19. *Ibid.,* p. 48.

20. *Ibid.,* pp. 107-8.

21. Francis J. Bremer, "The New Haven Colony and Oliver Cromwell," Connecticut Historical Society *Bulletin,* XXXVIII (1973), p. 70; Calder, *New Haven Colony,* p. 202.

22. *New Haven Colony Records,* 2, p. 16.

23. *Ibid.,* p. 164.

24. Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century,* 3 vols. (New York, 1904-8), vol. 1, p. 326.

25. *New Haven Colony Records,* 2, p. 48.

26. *Ibid.,* p. 49.

27. *Ibid.,* p. 62.

28. *Ibid.,* p. 63.

29. *Ibid.,* p. 64.

30. *Ibid.,* p. 65.

31. [Theophilus Eaton, comp.], *New-Haven's Settling in New England* . . . (London, 1656), reprinted in *New Haven Colony Records,* 2, pp. 577-78.

32. Jules Zanger, "Crime and Punishment in Early Massachusetts," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d. ser., XXII (1965), p. 473.

33. *New Haven Colony Records,* 2, p. 216.

34. *Ibid.,* p. 293.

35. *Ibid.,* p. 95.

36. *Ibid.,* p. 17.

37. *Ibid.,* p. 51.

38. Calder, *New Haven Colony,* p. 201.

39. *New Haven Colony Records,* 2, p. 94.

40. Franklin B. Dexter and Zara Jones Powers, eds., *New Haven Town Records, 1649-1769,* 3 vols. (New Haven, 1917-62), vol. 1, p. 475.

41. *New Haven Colony Records,* 2, p. 285.

42. *Ibid.,* p. 351.

43. Calder, *New Haven Colony,* pp. 62-63.

44. *New Haven Colony Records,* 2, p. 144.

45. Daniel M. Mead, *A History of the Town of Greenwich, Fairfield County, Connecticut* (New York, 1857), p. 28.

46. Stamford Town Records, vol. 1, pp. 110-11; *New Haven Colony Records,* 2, p. 216.

47. Haskins, *Law and Authority,* pp. 9-11; Wall, *Crucial Decade,* pp. 4-6. The Massachusetts charter may be consulted in Thomas Hutchinson's *A Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of*

Massachusetts Bay (Boston, 1769), or in Edmund S. Morgan, ed., *The Founding of Massachusetts: Historians and the Sources* (Indianapolis, 1964).

48. Wall, *Crucial Decade,* pp. 5-6.

49. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England,* 5 vols. (Boston, 1853-54), vol. 1, p. 79. Hereafter *Massachusetts Records.*

50. Rutman, *Winthrop's Boston,* p. 137.

51. *Massachusetts Records,* 1, p. 93.

52. John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649,* edited by James Savage, 2 vols. (Boston, 1853), vol. 1, p. 84. Hereafter *Winthrop's Journal.*

53. *Ibid.,* p. 153.

54. *Massachusetts Records,* 1, p. 118.

55. Haskins, *Law and Authority,* p. 29. An interesting interpretation of this situation is offered in T.H. Breen, "Persistent Localism: English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d. ser., XXXII (1975), pp. 23-28.

56. Wall, *Crucial Decade,* pp. 157-210.

57. *Winthrop's Journal,* 2, p. 319.

58. Morgan, *Puritan Dilemma,* p. 198.

59. The Remonstrance may be consulted in Hutchinson, *Original Papers,* pp. 188-96. David Yale, the stepson of Theophilus Eaton, was one of the signatories. A biographical sketch of Yale may be found in George L. Kittredge, "Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant," Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications,* XXI (1919), pp. 1-146. Kittredge suggested (p. 27) that Yale's participation in the affair was related to the 1644 excommunication of his mother at New Haven. See Newman Smyth, "Mrs. Eaton's Trial (in 1644); as it Appears upon the Records of the First Church of New Haven," New Haven Colony Historical Society *Papers,* vol. 5 (1894), pp. 133-48.

60. *Massachusetts Records,* 3, pp. 90-91.

61. *Ibid.,* p. 94.

62. *Ibid.,* p. 113.

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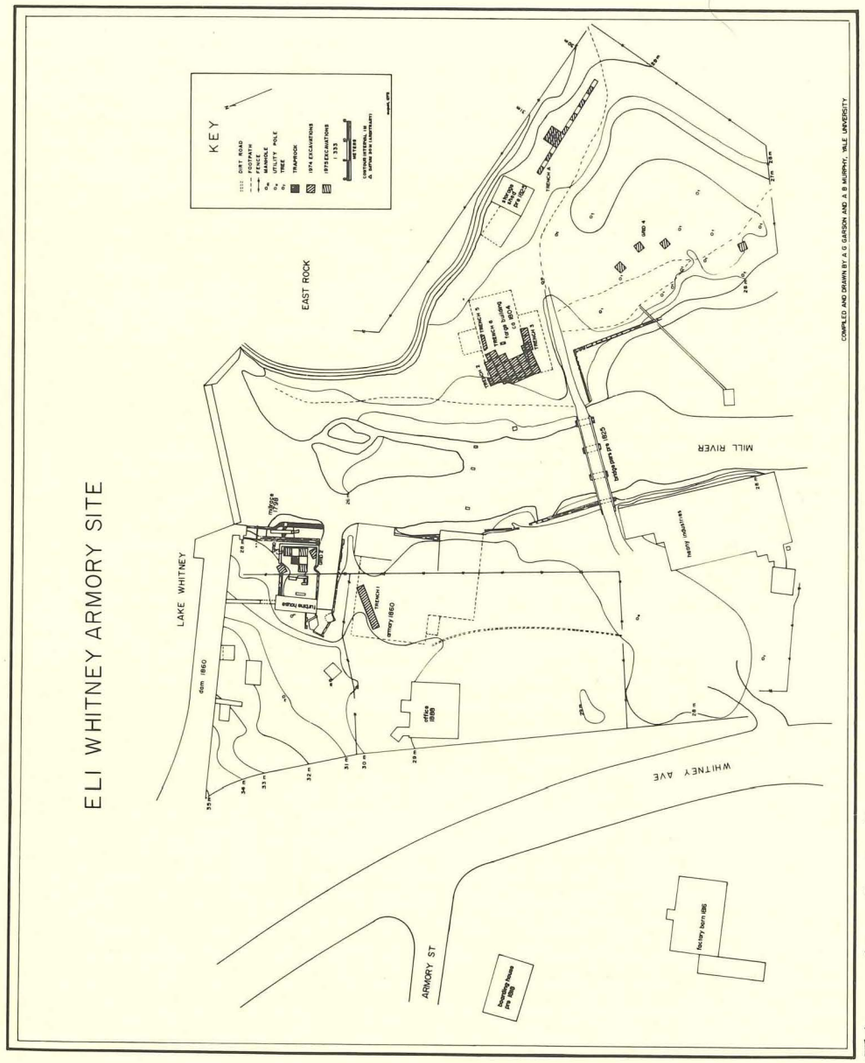
Industrial Archeology and the Eli Whitney Controversy

by David R. Starbuck

In 1974 and 1975 a multidisciplinary project was undertaken at the site of Eli Whitney's gun factory in Hamden, Connecticut.[1] While intended to clarify Whitney's role in the history of American firearms manufacture, the project has instead led to further controversy among historians of technology and industrial archeologists. To understand this predicament it is first necessary to examine the origins of the project and the nature of the discipline of industrial archeology.

Industrial archeology, the use of material remains—not just literature—to answer questions about past industry, is still a young field in the United States. The Society for Industrial Archeology was not formed until 1971, and the sole government agency charged with the recording of industrial sites, the Historic American Engineering Record, was founded just two years before that. As with most other new fields, a rigorous body of techniques and theories has not yet been developed, leading to considerable disagreement as to the appropriateness of each scholar's methods and research objectives. For many, it is adequate simply to record, through photographs, measured drawings, and historical documents, that which remains of an industrial complex; while for a very few this approach is inadequate and nonacademic. For this latter group, generally trained in anthropology or social history, the recording process is meaningful only when it is directed toward compiling information that will answer valid research questions.

In the absence of clearly defined research goals, it is easiest to characterize the field by examining some of the specific projects that have been undertaken and then commenting on their effectiveness. For example, some of the earliest and best-known industrial excavations were at sites of famous Americans or sites where important industrial processes were first developed. This desire to record some of the grandest remains of America's industrial heritage and to exhibit them to the public led to the excavation and reconstruction of the Saugus Ironworks between 1948 and 1954,[2] the grist mill at Philipsburg Manor throughout the 1950s,[3] the first



This map shows the standing structures and excavated areas at the Eli Whitney Factory site.

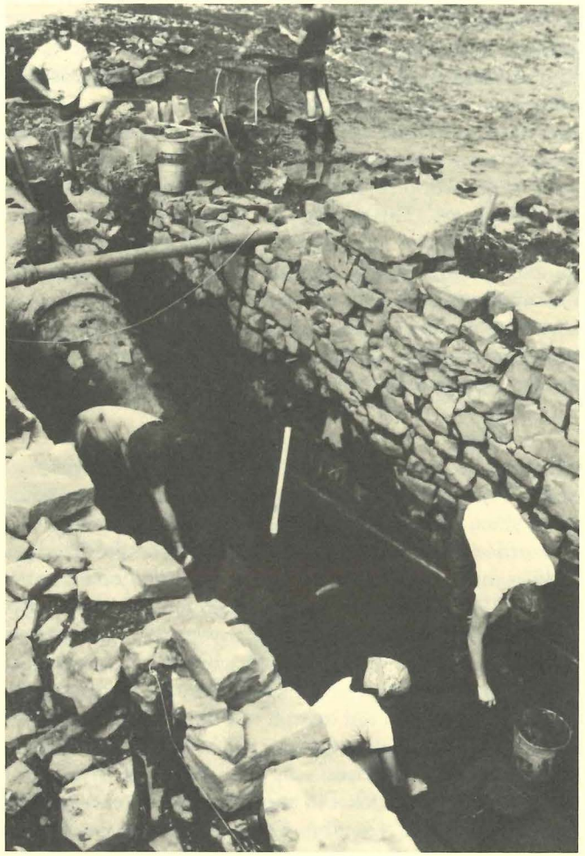
glasshouse at Jamestown, Virginia in 1948,[4] and quite a few other prominent industrial sites. Heavy power machinery was often employed in lieu of the archeologist's more traditional hand tools, and excavations were used chiefly to locate structures and to determine their dimensions.

Only in the past ten years have industrial archeologists begun to shift from the glamorous to the commonplace, now studying both the above- and below-ground remains of many small rural sites,[5] workers' housing and villages,[6] and even the evolution of earth-moving machinery.[7] This change of interest has led to more critical self-examination and to a desire to make industrial archeology more scholarly and research-oriented.[8] Unfortunately, too few papers have yet appeared that effectively integrate historical research with site-derived data in order to make major new contributions. Instead, masses of physical documentation are collected and filed, and they do little to further the pursuit of industrial history. It is small wonder that many scholars are skeptical as to the merits of the field.

The Whitney Controversy

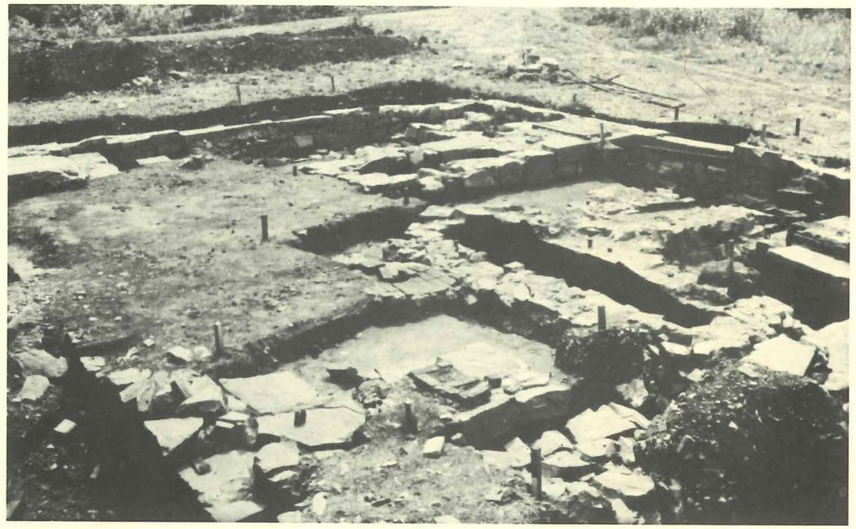
In 1971 Robert MacDonald, then the Director of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, proposed a project at the site of Eli Whitney's gun factory. This recommendation was certainly appropriate, since Eli Whitney had been one of New Haven's most illustrious citizens, and his assertion of primacy in the invention of standardized gun parts had brought him nearly as much renown as his better-documented invention of the cotton gin.[9] However, the 1960s had seen a growing number of attacks upon Whitney, each intended to destroy the legend of the "great inventor." This had been accomplished with some success by Robert Woodbury, who relied solely upon documentary sources.[10] Then a pair of articles by Edwin Battison appeared that proved quite convincingly that Whitney did not invent, nor did he use, the milling machine that is now on exhibit at the New Haven Colony Historical Society.[11] In fact, by studying parts from Whitney firearms, Battison emphatically demonstrated that parts could not be interchanged from one musket to another, and that considerable finishing work was required during actual assembly. From the standpoint of these scholars and others, Whitney had been reduced from an inventive genius to just one more of the many small firearms manufacturers who furnished the federal government and state armories with weapons during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Whitney's unwillingness to reveal his manufacturing "secrets" in print did nothing to dispel the shadow now cast over his legend.

Needless to say, Whitney's detractors have had their own favorite inventors waiting to take Whitney's place, specifically Simeon North, a private arms contractor in Middletown, Connecticut; and John Hall, an inventor associated with the United States armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia.[12] These scholars have provided excellent evidence that North designed and constructed the earliest-known milling machine in America around 1816, and that Hall was the first to create milling and gauging machines so accurate that firearms could be manufactured with interchangeable parts; this occurred by 1828, if not earlier.



The excavation of Whitney's 1798 millrace. The turbine pipe was added in 1860.

Foundation walls for the 1860 main armory.



The foundation of Whitney's 1804 forge building at the conclusion of excavations in 1974.

Industrial Archeology at the Whitney Armory

When an extensive project was conducted at Eli Whitney's gun factory in 1974 and 1975, it appeared to be the opportunity to obtain new information with which to counter Whitney's detractors. Unlike most other industrial archeology projects that have gathered data without reference to research questions, it seemed that work at the Whitney Armory could be used to answer one of the greatest industrial questions of all: whether or not Whitney was the first to develop standardized parts in the United States. The Whitney Armory thus became the site of the first Historic American Engineering Record survey in the State of Connecticut (1974), and also the site of the first major factory excavation in the state.

Unfortunately, while it was possible to review many of the previously studied Whitney papers and to excavate and record large portions of the factory complex, at no point was evidence found of machinery or parts that shed new light on Whitney's manufacturing processes. Too much modification and new construction by later manufacturers made it harder than anticipated to locate remains of Whitney's machinery and products, and only the building foundations—covered with fill—could easily be located. Given limited time and other constraints, it was possible to excavate completely Whitney's 1798 millrace and the site of his 1804 powder house or proofing house, and nearly half of his 1804 forge building; and to test—unsuccessfully—for his 1798 filing and machine shop. In addition, a trench was placed across the foundation of the 1860 armory that had been constructed by Eli

Whitney II, and some testing for garbage dumps was done in the vicinity of an 1840s foundry building. Previously unpublished drawings and photographs of these excavations are included in this article, and it can safely be argued that physical documentation of the site—including a series of Historic American Engineering Record drawings of standing structures—has been thorough and rewarding in terms of architectural evidence, if not in regard to manufacturing processes.[13]

The Controversy Continues

An initial assessment suggests that industrial archeology at the Whitney Armory succeeded in the physical recording of much of Whitney's site but failed to produce new information of use to historians of technology or other scholars. This does not mean that the site or pertinent documents cannot eventually be more enlightening and cannot reveal whatever Whitney achieved here. Rather, it means that much more research is required, not just by historians who consciously seek to debunk Whitney, but by those who are able to ask the right questions and who have adequate resources to pursue the Whitney legend until all of the controversy has been resolved.

In the meantime, attacks upon Whitney have increased in vehemence, and woe to the scholar who does not echo this refrain. These range from statements such as "Eli Whitney was not one of the key contributors to the American system of manufacturing," to accumulation of evidence that Whitney produced *inferior* weapons,[14] to attacks upon the HAER/NHCHS survey for even being conducted. In this last case, Robert Woodbury has written that the study was "hardly worth doing" and wonders whether anyone took the survey team to Mory's because "It would have been more profitable."[15]

In the end it may very well be demonstrated that, except for his invention of the cotton gin, Whitney was the charlatan that many scholars now make him out to be—someone who strove to take credit for the achievements of others and who popularized standardized parts so successfully that his legend lives some 155 years later. Those who still credit Whitney with some creative ability have been amply warned that the legend is fading. In order to ensure that Whitney is not dismissed altogether, they would do well to engage in new and far more intensive research than ever before. Given the high caliber of studies that have recently been done on other gunmakers, only research of the highest quality can possibly restore Whitney to a position of eminence.

NOTES

1. This research is summarized in *Eli Whitney Armory Survey (CT-2)*, by the Historic American Engineering Record (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1974), and in David R. Starbuck, "Archeological Research at the Eli Whitney Factory Site," in *Journal of the New Haven Colony Historical Society* 25, no. 1(1977):8-27.

2. Roland Wells Robbins and Evan Jones, *Hidden America* (New York: Knopf, 1959), chapter 3. E.N. Hartley, *Ironworks on the Saugus* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957).

3. Roland Wells Robbins and Evan Jones, *Hidden America* (New York: Knopf, 1959), chapter 5. Charles Howell and Allan Keller, *The Mill at Philipsburg Manor Upper Mills and a Brief History of Milling* (Tarrytown, N.Y.: Sleepy Hollow Restorations, 1977).

4. J.C. Harrington, *A Tryal of Glasse* (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1972).

5. Theodore Z. Penn and Roger Parks, "Nichols-Colby Sawmill in Bow, New Hampshire," in *IA:The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology* 1, no. 1(1975):1-12. Robert L. Schuyler and Christopher Mills, "The Supply Mill on Content Brook in Massachusetts," in *Journal of Field Archaeology* 3, no. 1 (1976):61-95. John S. Wilson, "Upper Factory Brook Sawmill: Middlefield, Massachusetts," in *IA: The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology* 3, no. 1(1977):43-52.

6. Albert F. Bartovics, "An Historical Experiment in Anthropological Settlement," in *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers 1975* 10 (1977):156-64. Robert L. Schuyler, "Lowellian Archeology," in *Newsletter of the Society for Industrial Archeology, Supplementary Issue,* no. 7 (1974):3-4.

7. Jeffrey L. Brown, "Earthworks and Industrial Archeology," in *IA:The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology* 6, no. 1 (1980):1-8.

8. Many different viewpoints, most urging change, can be found in Dianne Newell (ed.), "Symposium: Industrial Archeology and the Human Sciences," in *Society for Industrial Archeology, Occasional Publications,* no. 3 (1978); and in David R. Starbuck, "Industrial Archaeology: World Systems and Local Engineers—Workshop Report," in *Proceedings of the Conference on Northeastern Archaeology,* James A. Moore, ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1980).

9. See Jeannette Mirsky and Allan Nevins, *The World of Eli Whitney* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1952); Claud E. Fuller, *The Whitney Firearms* (Huntington, W.Va.: Standard Publications, 1946); and others.

10. Robert S. Woodbury, "The Legend of Eli Whitney and Interchangeable Parts," in *Technology and Culture,* vol. 1 (1960):235-53.

11. Edwin A. Battison, "Eli Whitney and the Milling Machine," in *Smithsonian Journal of History,* vol. 1 (1966):9-34; and Battison, "A New Look at the 'Whitney' Milling Machine," in *Technology and Culture,* vol. 14 (1973):592-98.

12. Merritt Roe Smith, "John H. Hall, Simeon North, and the Milling Machine . . . ," in *Technology and Culture,* vol. 14 (1973):573-91; and Smith, *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977).

13. All original drawings and negatives are stored in the collections of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, and those reproduced here are printed courtesy of the Society.

14. Edwin A. Battison, *Muskets to Mass Production* (Windsor, Vt.: The American Precision Museum, 1976), pp. 8-9.

15. Robert S. Woodbury, "Book Review of *Eli Whitney Armory Survey (CT-2),*" in *Technology and Culture* 18, no. 1(1977):146-48. This paper has been responded to in David R. Starbuck, "Industrial Archaeology at the Eli Whitney Armory: A Reply to Woodbury," in *Technology and Culture* 19, no. 3(1978):609-11.

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Brooks Shepard, Jr.
Chairman, Development Committee

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